224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domesticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

[797] [177]

[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/218 cont./

224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also
262 eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food are (49):

231 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

[171]

/290 cont./

356 [136] [231] Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores), the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

[514] Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot, producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 515 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

/427 cont./

562
847

/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

845
847

3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797]

41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]

Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

[115]
[231]

42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

[736]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiarí. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by Koch-Grunberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother. [562]

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement. 857 [614] [593] [231]

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk.

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly.

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets.

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out.

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we